1: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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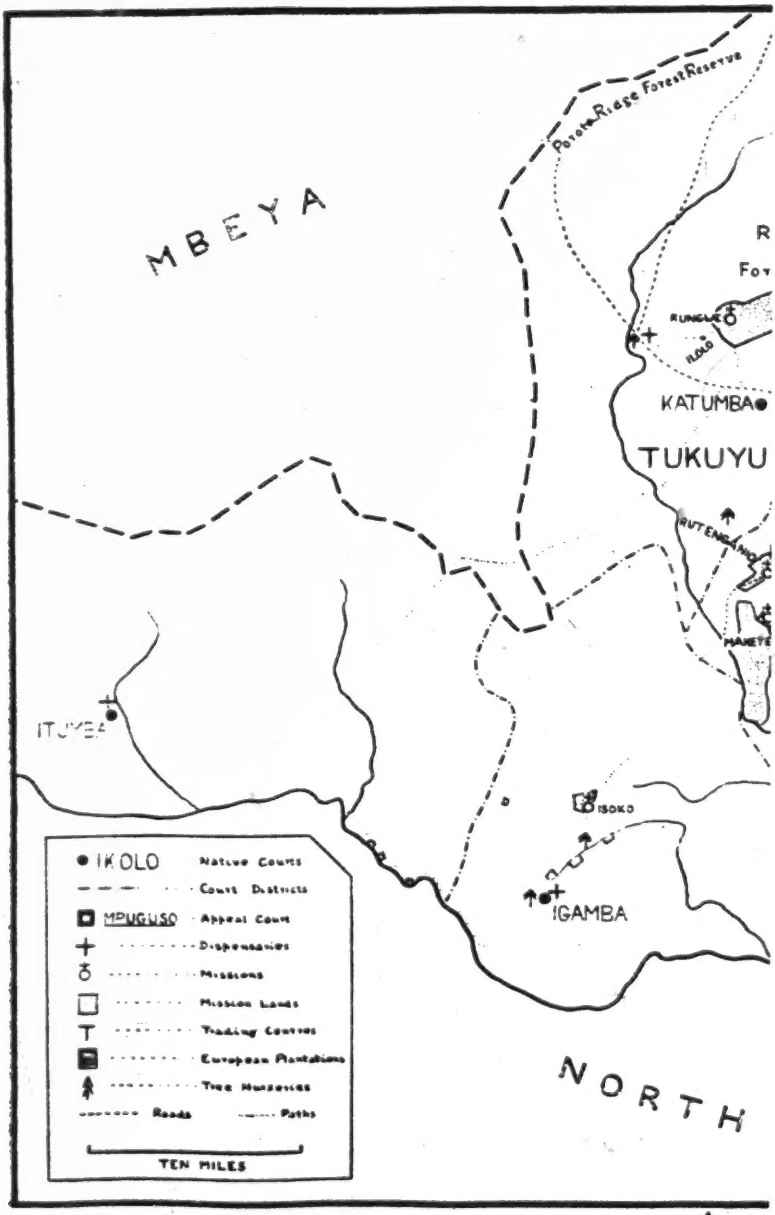

MAP III. RUNGWE

[Facing p. 16(a)]

1: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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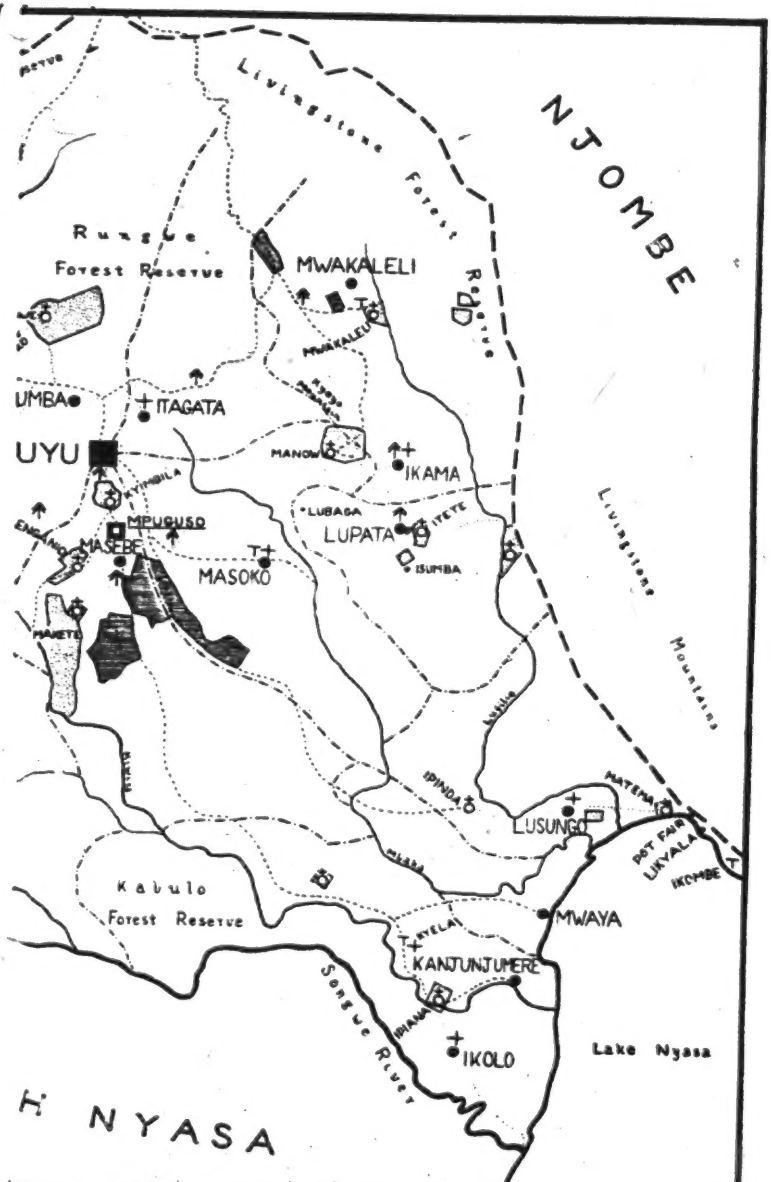

GWE DISTRICT

Drawn by J. V. L. Rennie after R. de Z. Hall and G. D. Archer

[facing p. 16 (b)]

1: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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II. THE GENESIS OF A VILLAGE
Boys' huts built on the edge of their fathers' village

[facing p. 19]

I:Wilson E-5(1934-1938)1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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III. MEN'S VILLAGES HIDDEN IN BANANA GROVES AND FRINGED BY CULTIVATED LAND
A long hut is visible in the centre of the picture to the right, and an *umvali* tree on the left. In the cultivated land are oil-bearing *unsyunguti* trees

[FACING P. 34]

1:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

mony, and are clearly distinguished from those who do. Indeed they may be appointed at a considerably later date. The qualities looked for in them, however, are similar to those looked for in the village headmen, namely, wisdom in dealing with men, generosity, wealth, and the respect of their neighbours. They are expected to settle disputes, to pass on the orders of their chief or village headman to the men under them, to entertain their neighbours, and 'to watch over the country by day and by night'. On the hot Lake-shore plain, where the cattle are brought in before noon to stand in the shade of the bananas and are protected from insects by the smoke of a fire specially kindled for the purpose, an assistant headman is called 'he of the heap of hot ashes' (*ugwakyemo*), implying that he is the leader of the group whose cattle are herded together. 'He of the heap of hot ashes' is responsible both for the cows and for their masters. 'If the cows give no milk he will call the ten friends and warn them that if there is a witch among them he will be driven away.' Again, the extent of an assistant headman's influence depends very largely on his personal popularity. 'The village headman chooses a man of wisdom and says: "Build here with your friends": he is there first, and, if he is charitable (*mololo*), more people will come.' Generally speaking the assistants are more important in the large villages of the plains than in the smaller villages of the hills.

The distinction between the sub-divisions of a village and two separate villages is theoretically quite clear for the villages of men, since each independent village has been formally established at a 'coming out' ceremony. But in practice the distinction is somewhat blurred; for large villages often split *after* the 'coming out' ceremony into sections which operate very much as independent villages. This became apparent when we analysed in detail the villages of Mwaipopo's chiefdom (*vide* Document pp. 181-5) and found, besides the nineteen established villages, five village-sections which were treated in many respects as independent villages. Boys' villages remain somewhat fluid until the 'coming out'; but those offshoots of a parent village which have been closed to younger brothers may be regarded as separate villages.

Boys build their huts close together and plant bananas round them (*vide* Plate II). Then, as they grow older and marry, they build larger huts and space them further apart; but the homestead

1: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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IV. A CHRISTIAN BOYS' VILLAGE BEING BUILT ROUND A SCHOOL
(the larger building in the centre of the picture)

[facing p. 35]

1: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

of a married man is close to those of his neighbours, his banana grove probably adjoining theirs, while the main garden-lands of the whole group are all together at a distance (*vide* Plate III). Boundaries between age-villages are thus not always apparent to a stranger. A solid hundred acres or so of houses and bananas may turn out to consist of two or three villages, each with its own organization, and each having a block of garden-lands separate from the others.

If any question arises about the village a man belongs to, the points discussed are: where he has built and where he cultivates —i.e. to what village the land he uses belongs; with whom he herds his cows; and which village headman he goes to in case of a dispute. Membership of a village is therefore defined primarily in terms of economic co-operation and political allegiance.

d. Moving

The age-system is somewhat modified by men moving from one village to another. When a man dies his heir frequently comes and lives where the dead man was living, so becoming a member of his age-village. A man's heir is his full brother next to him in age, and only when all the full brothers of a family have died does the property pass to the eldest son of the eldest brother. The difference in the ages of a man and his heir is often, therefore, only a few years; but even if the difference be great, and the heir many years younger than his new neighbours, he is now treated as their contemporary. He sits with them at ceremonies and he shares their rights at any division of meat.

Were all heirs to remove to the homesteads of those who had died, the villages of old men would, of course, continue to exist indefinitely. In fact they do not. In Mwaipopo's chiefdom there remained only one small village of old men, the grandfathers of the generation which had last 'come out'. Other villages of this grandfathers' generation were remembered by name; the heirs of former members sometimes used the old name; but they did not live together as a group; they were members of other villages of their own generation. Even the heir of the headman of each old village, who acted as a priest, lived in some other village. It was said that these grandfathers' villages would disappear even in name when Mwaipopo, the father of the young chief died. No

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17

131 Bukukwe, culminating, so far as the peopled regions
133 are concerned, in Tukuyu, five thousand feet above sea-level, the residence of the Administrative Officer and his staff, with Post and Telegraph Offices, and a large Government Hospital. Here also are many small trading stores, conducted by Indians and Somali; and a little to the south is the Kyimbila
[797] Station of the Scottish Churches Mission, carrying on the work of the exiled German missionaries. Still further to the south, and less elevated, is the British military post of Masoko.

• 361 The population of these fertile and healthy high-
101 lands is dense. From Tukuyu or Kyimbila, looking south and west, numerous villages, each hidden in its banana grove, fill the view westwards to the Bundali Hills, where the Kibira River is marked out by a morning mist, and southwards towards the lake, thirty miles distant. In this region the people call themselves Nyakyusa, with a number of local names indicating no difference of origin or language. The
241 soil is so fertile, and the rain usually so abundant, that in many places two crops are taken annually of some foodstuffs, while of the others the single crop is so great that scarcity, no uncommon occurrence in some parts of Central Africa, is rarely experienced.

133 The Bundali Hills close in this happy valley (for in
101 spite of its elevation the country has the appearance of a valley) on the west; and beyond them, after a most exhausting march, over lofty summits, through deep ravines threaded by bridgeless rivers, one comes to the home of the Bandali, a race of hardy

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17

CHAPTER II

Village Life

•361 THE typical Konde village has very little in common with a European one. Here and there one will come on villages neatly laid out in streets or rows, usually with the ends, rather than the sides, facing the road; frequently with a clump of bananas separating one house from another. But much more common is the village in which each house is hidden in its own banana grove; or where at one point one may find three or four huts grouped together, at another perhaps a solitary hut, yonder, again, two or three are near each other; but everywhere surrounded by bananas growing close up to the houses. Or, in a few places, the tall maize conceals the houses from view in the growing season, leaving them exposed, after the harvest, to the eye of all passers-by.

512 From a distance nothing is seen but the wide spreading banana leaves. In the early morning from hundreds of huts smoke rises into the still air, as the sleepers rouse themselves and lay fresh wood on the fire which has been smouldering all night, unless some one has wakened and stirred the dying embers. One by one the villagers emerge from the houses, and

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17

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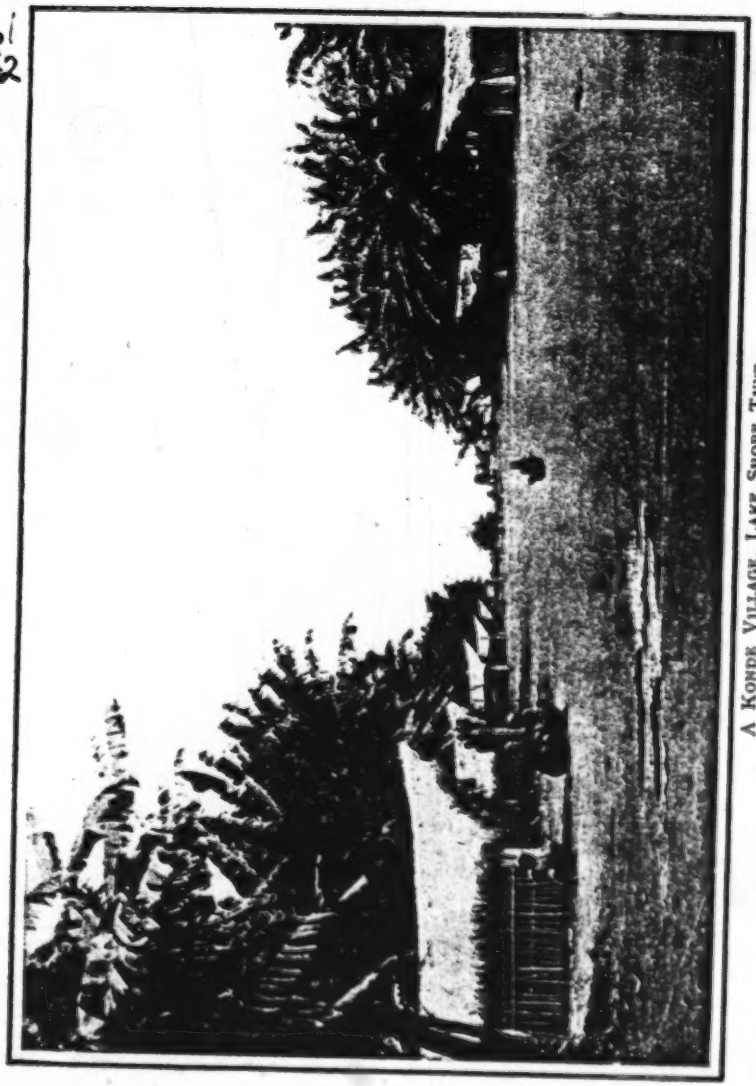


A KONDE VILLAGE, LAKE SHORE TYPE.

The slender houses are of reeds and grass, shaded by overhanging banana leaves, and usually unplastered to admit every straying breeze. As cattle stealing is a very common crime, the cattle sleep in the houses with their owners.

[facing p. 32]

4: Tew E-4 (no date) 1950 FN17 Ngonde FN17

231 according to the *Bell Report*. Cattle and hides are exported to Tanganyika.[1] The *Nyamwanga* herds were reduced, partly by Bemba raids, and partly by rinderpest.[2]

Domestic Architecture

341 *Ngonde* homesteads are famous in Nyasaland for their peculiar style and neatness
●361 of execution. They are made of bamboos, specially grown for the purpose. They are oblong, with the ends slightly tapering upwards so that they present a ship-like appearance. The huts are erected in two lines facing each other, at a distance of about 30 yards. This centre street is kept scrupulously clean.[3] The *Nyakusa* live in round or long huts of bamboo or grass.[4] *Kinga* homesteads are scattered; they live in round huts of bamboo and straw.[5] The *Iwa* formerly lived in large stockaded villages, but these are now broken up.[6]

Specialization and Trade

326 The Ngonde were accomplished iron-workers; iron was dug, smelted, and made into hoes and spears.[7] The Iwa were formerly noted as iron-workers. Both they and the Nyamwanga grow tobacco on a large scale.[8]

296 A rough kind of cloth was made on native looms. The Ngonde made hollowed
501 canoes, but were not good sailors. In fishing they used poison, hooks, nets, and traps.
226 Pottery and basket-making were carried on.[9]

[177] The Ngonde were the most civilized of this cluster of tribes, owing to their closer
439 contact with Arab and Swahili traders who used the lake as a waterway.[10] The Nyam-
643 wanga also had opportunities of contact with Arab and Swahili traders at the south end of Lake Tanganyika,[11] but information about the effect of this on their economic life is lacking. By comparison with the Ngonde the Nyakyusa were isolated from contact with the outside world,[12] and this is probably true of the other tribes of the group. Among the Ngonde, in spite of the political hierarchy and central religious authority of Kyungu, economic links between separate local groups were few. The ivory trade was a source of wealth for the Kyungu and for the nobles of Ngonde at Mbande, but its benefits had a strictly limited effect on the rest of the people. The economic links between the capital and the chiefdoms followed the lines of the political system The income of Kyungu in slaves and cattle depended on the judicial process and on warfare. He had a semi-monopoly of the ivory of the country (the right tusk of every elephant killed was his). His expenditure consisted of entertainment for all important visitors to the capital, and gifts of cloths, obtained through the ivory trade, to nobles and chiefs. The first Kyungu gave head-cloths to the indigenous rulers, who, in accepting them, accepted his overlordship, and the practice was continued every time a new chief or territorial noble succeeded to office. The nobles of Ngonde got cloths every time the Arab traders came. Chiefs bringing food to Mbande, the capital, were

[1] *Bell Report*, pp. 100–3; Aplin, 1931.
[2] Kerr-Cross, 1894; Murray, 1932, pp. 210–11.
[3] Ibid., p. 64.
[4] Mackenzie, 1925, pp. 146–8; Kerr-Cross, 1894, p. 189.
[5] Gouldsbury and Sheane, 1911, p. 12.
[6] *Handbook of German East Africa*, p. 68.
[7] Gouldsbury and Sheane, 1911, p. 12.
[8] Wilson, 5, 1939, p. 44.
[9] Mackenzie, 1925, pp. 146, 149, 151–2.
[10] Cozhead, 1914, p. 44.
[11] Ibid., 3, 1938, p. 15.

4: Tew - E-4 (no date) 1950 FN17 Ngonde FN

and the great commoners of the most senior villages. The constitution of a chiefdom was that of a limited monarchy, for the chief was dependent on his great commoners for his authority. All the way up the scale, with the exception of the Kyungu himself, each chief had his own great commoners and people directly subordinate to him. The organization of families and villages within the chiefdoms was the same as that of the Nyakyusa, but the organization of a territory ruled by a noble differed in that although there were always at least two age-villages, there were no great commoners.[1]

Villages vary in size, and average from forty to fifty households. In the first instance a boys' village is built on ground allotted to them by the village of their fathers, but a new allotment is made ceremoniously at the 'coming out', *ubusoka*, ceremony of the young chiefs, when the old chief and his great commoners formally allot a tract of land to each village of young men, and redraw the boundaries.

In every generation each chiefdom was divided into two (they were originally immigrant groups expanding their territory, and incorporating previous inhabitants). The chief at his accession, or 'coming out', married two 'great wives', whose eldest sons would each be one of his two heirs, and divide his chiefdom. The number of villages which 'came out' with each young chief varied between four and eight. If he was later reduced to a minor position he might be left with only one village of adult men, and one of their sons, as people tended to move away from minor chiefdoms. This was the system which obtained among the Nyakyusa and also among the Ngonde.[2] A summary of the 'coming out' ritual is given here, instead of in the section on ritual, as it indicates some of the features of the political organization.

Usually eight age-villages 'came out' at the same time, four under each of the young chiefs. At this occasion, some thirty years after the old chief's accession, eight new great commoners were chosen. The two young chiefs were secluded for a few hours in the hut of the old chief's first wife, and received magical treatment. Then they 'came out'. The boundaries of the age-villages were freshly drawn. After the 'coming out', each young chief, whether he was already married or not, married his two great wives, whose first sons would be his heirs. Girls who had not yet reached puberty were carried off from other chiefdoms with a show of force by the chief's men, who later sent cows of their own to regularize the position. The girls stayed at the home of one of the old chief's men until their first menstruation. They were initiated together, not at the house of their fathers, but in the country of their husbands; the old men and women of the country (contemporaries of the retiring chief) played the part usually played by the girl's parents and neighbours; the chief and his young men playing the usual part of the husband and his friends. After the ceremonies the girls were given as wives to the young chiefs, and separate huts were built for them in the two senior age-villages of the chiefdom. Wives married subsequently were attached in order of seniority to one or other of the two 'sides' of the chiefdom. Thus the four age-villages normally attached to a young chief were, from the first days of his official marriage, divided into two. If one of the two great wives bore no sons, the succession for that side of the chiefdom would pass to the son of the next senior wife of that side.

Between the 'coming out' of two young chiefs and the death of their own father, a delicate balance of prestige and power was maintained, secular power over their own age-villages passing to each young chief, while the old chief retained control over the

[1] Wilson, 3, 1939, pp. 22–4.

[2] Ibid., 3, 1938, pp. 12–15.

5:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1938 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

595 and children a man has to assist him the more wealth he can produce. The man and his unmarried sons hoe, his wives and young daughters plant, weed and harvest, fetch water, cut firewood and cook the food ; and in other practical activities there is equally fruitful co-operation within the household group.

591 621 882 When a man marries he takes his wife from her father's village to his own where he lives with a group of contemporaries. Each village is in origin an age-group, formed by the sons of some village of adult men who leave home one by one as they reach the age of ten to twelve years and build together on ground set aside for them by their fathers. It is not decent, the Nyakyusa maintain, for a boy to sleep at home after any vigorous interest in sexual activity has awakened in him ; and so, for the fifteen years or more between leaving home and marriage, he sleeps with bachelor friends in a boys' village. He and a group of friends go round in turn to the houses of their respective parents for meals, and each hoes his own parents' fields, but all return to the boys' village at night.

621 882 361 As the members of the boys' village grow older, younger boys just leaving home begin to be refused admittance to it and so either start a fresh village of their own nearby or else join a village of their own contemporaries which has already been started. Boys' villages are thus forever hiving off from the villages of men. At first a boys' village covers but little ground for, as its members are unmarried, the houses are small and close together and there are no garden lands attached to it. But as the young men marry one by one the village expands, houses are built bigger and further apart and some adjacent ground is brought under cultivation, until at last it assumes the normal aspect of a village of adult men.

621 A village thus consists of a male age-group with wives and children attached. Wives may be of any age and there is no such formal age grouping among them as among the men. And, as time goes on, some men too may enter the village who are not exact contemporaries of its other members. When a man dies his heir, either a younger brother or a son, often comes to live in his village ; nor are strangers who apply for land in a village ever, I think, refused on the ground of unsuitable age. Villages vary considerably in size but average forty to fifty households.

At first a village of boys, as we have said, is built on ground allotted to it by the village of their fathers ; but a new allotment is made ceremonially at the " coming out " (*ubusoka*) of the young chiefs.

631 622 Every generation each chiefdom of the Nyakyusa is divided into two halves, a fact which is hard to understand until it is realized that the Nyakyusa consist of a number of immigrant groups which have, until very recently, been expanding their territory within the district and

5:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1938 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

for labour and food. There are also a few small plantations owned by Europeans inside the district which fulfil a similar function. 26,000 acres only of land have been alienated in Rungwe District by the two Governments which have in turn controlled it; and it is the declared intention of the present Government to alienate no more. Of the alienated land only 2,200 acres is at the moment in use.

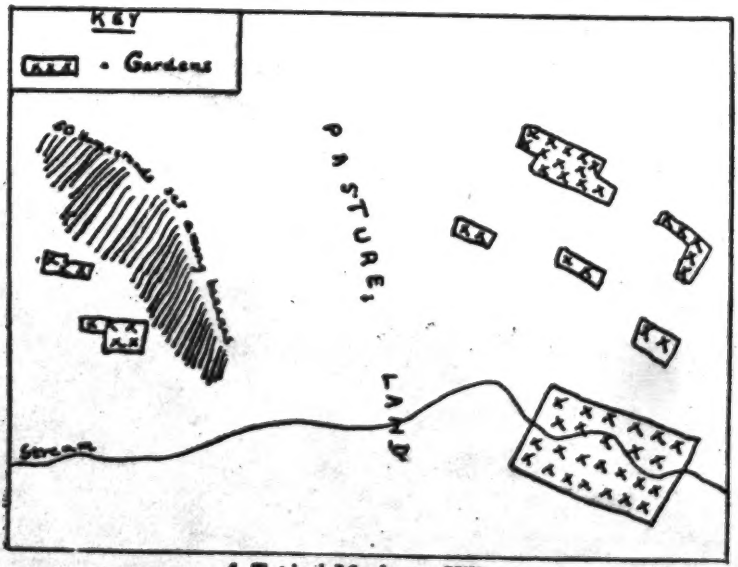
Missionaries of the Berlin Lutheran and the Moravian missions have been in the district since 1891, and a substantial proportion, about 16%, of the population now professes Christianity. The Christians live, some in separate Christian villages, some scattered about among their pagan neighbours. In the Christian villages the traditional age grouping usually prevails, with elders and deacons taking the place of great-commoners.

Such in outline is the form of society within which individual Nyakyusa hold property in land.

5. *INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS WITHIN THE HOUSEHOLD*

A village, as we have seen, usually consists of a group of houses built fairly close together with one or more blocks of garden land at some distance from them, while the village cattle graze the adjoining grass lands in various different herds.

Plan A



A Typical Myakyusa Village

5:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1938 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

far as as men compete for land that rules of tenure are developed among them. And where competition is weakest there the rules are least strict.

In Nyakyusa society every married man holds land of his own for building and agriculture, for there is still enough for all, and pastures his cattle on the grasslands of some village group. His land rights, in which, as we have seen, his wives and children participate, are conditioned at every point by his membership of a particular village, his allegiance to a particular chief and by the particular cultural idiom of his tribal group.

Before the " coming out " a boy's village, as we have seen, is built on land assigned for the purpose by the parent village. A block of land for building is set aside by the great-commoner in consultation with the other men as their sons begin to reach the age of leaving home, and there the boys are often joined later by contemporaries, sons of other villages of men. At first building sites alone are needed, but later, as the boys grow up and get married, they need gardens too and bring the adjacent ground under cultivation. In doing so they are careful not to infringe upon their fathers' land rights, they either hoe land which was previously unowned[1] or else that which has been specifically granted to them by the parent village. Into the nature of such grants of garden land before the " coming out "—whether they are block grants by the parent village as a whole to the boys' village as a whole, or separate grants by individuals to individuals—I omitted to enquire.

At the " coming out " a whole tract of land is formally allotted to each village of young men by the old chief and his great-commoners and within this tract individuals take up garden land by hoeing it. At the " coming out " it is said that " everything is made new," boundaries are redrawn and the new chiefdoms and villages of the young men are ceremonially incorporated.

The situation in which individual land rights in relation to the village group and the chief are clearest to an observer is that of the taking up of land after a move, for it is in this situation that disputes are most frequent.

Mainly owing to their religious beliefs movement from one place to another is constant among the pagan Nyakyusa. If a man or his wife or child falls sick and does not respond quickly to medical treatment the witchcraft of neighbours is at once suspected as a possible cause ; there are always other possible causes too so diviners are consulted in order to decide between them ; but if the suspicion of neighbourly witchcraft is confirmed then the cure for the sickness is held to lie in moving. In every village " some people " are vaguely believed to have the power of

[1] Vide infra. pp.41-2.

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

CHAPTER VI

LAND AND POWER

643 561 423 THE crux of the chiefs' 'coming out' was a redistribution of power and of land, and we must pause in our description of the ritual cycle to discuss the relation between chiefdoms and villages and the land, and to consider more closely the balance of power between successive generations.

(a) THE TERRITORIAL ALIGNMENT OF CHIEFDOMS AND VILLAGES

173 ●361 Tradition makes it clear that the heroes came to a sparsely occupied country and that their descendants gradually spread out as their numbers increased. The settlers chose to live on hillocks overlooking the surrounding country. Lubaga and [103] Mbande, the seats of the two 'divine kings' are commanding sites. [778] The grove of Kabale, where the ancestors of the Kukwe chiefs first established themselves, is on an eminence rising from the plateau, and Kambasekela (near the Mbaka bridge) on which the early chiefs Mwaipaja (21) and Mwaipopo (26) were buried is a hill very like Mbande, overlooking the plain.

361 [824] Unlike most of their neighbours the Nyakyusa show a preference for cleared and cultivated land, planted with bamboos and the oil-bearing *unsyunguti* trees (*Trichillia supp.*)[1] as well as the great *umwali* (*Chorophora excelsa*) which, in their view, adds dignity to the homestead.[2] A study of the trees planted at the 'coming out' and the sacred groves in Mwaipopo's chiefdom (C 24)[3] shows that for four generations the ruling chiefs (descendants of Mwaijonga 82) have established their principal villages within a quarter of a mile of one another, and for seven generations the descendants of Mwakisambwe (30) have lived within two or three miles of one another (*vide* plan, p. 101), though there were acres of fertile land

[1] I am indebted to Mr. P. B. Nightingale, Forestry Officer, Tukuyu, for giving me the botanical names of these and other trees.

[2] cf. Monica Wilson, *Good Company*, pp. 77-8.

[3] C followed by a number is the reference number of a chiefdom as listed in the genealogies of chiefs.

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

available which are only now being settled. Colonies are established, but usually by junior sons, the seniors remaining near where their fathers built; e.g. the descendants of Mwakasangule (22) remained near Lubaga, but Mwakisambwe (30) the junior heir moved to Mbyanga about 1750 and his senior great-great-great-grandson Mwaihojo (147) lives close to Mbyanga still, while Mwaijonga (82) the junior heir settled two or three miles away. Mwakyusa (38), a junior son not strictly an heir at all, but personally very popular, was defeated by his elder brothers and driven from the hills to the plain, where his descendants now live. It is not an invariable rule that the junior should move away—for example Mwambete (162) of the junior line lives close to Kambasekela where his ancestor Mwaipaja (21) is buried, and not Mwakibwele (182) of the senior line—but most often it is the junior who moves. The tradition is that the junior heir of a chief leads off his men as colonists at his 'coming out', and this may indeed have happened in the past, but the area of colonization in Mwaipopo's country (which we have observed over twenty years) was first opened by private individuals moving into unoccupied savannah forest land in search of virgin soil for cultivation, and lush grazing. The chief Mwaipopo asserted his claim to the area first by establishing a household there with some of his junior wives, and then by sending the son of a subordinate house (who could have no claim to inheritance of the chieftainship) to live there. Nsusa, the second village headman of Mwaipopo's heir Mwankuga (150), also settled in the forest and acted as headman of the men there, but whether his move was primarily to lay claim to the land or because he had quarrelled with his chief, Mwankuga, and the other village headmen, was never very clear.[1] Then in 1953, at the coming out of Mwankuga's heirs, the junior Mwabungulu (178) was established in the colony, and is regarded by the people as 'chief' of that area, though he is not recognized as a chief by the Administration.

When a colony is established several miles are left uncultivated between it and the parent chiefdom. Mwabungulu lives five or six miles from his senior brother Mwanyilu (177) and there is an area without homesteads between them. It seems that, traditionally, each chiefdom was surrounded by a belt of uncultivated land used as pasturage, and very often at the 'coming out' both brothers merely extended their villages on to the adjoining pasture land

[1] cf. Monica Wilson, *Good Company*, pp. 268-9.

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

leaving a strip of pasture between them, but when the area became crowded the junior heir would establish a colony at some distance. With the increasing density of population, and of the acreage cultivated by each family, the buffer strips between chiefdoms are disappearing.

The more closely related chiefs are the nearer their chiefdoms are likely to be, as will be apparent if the map on p. 87 is compared with the genealogies I and II, but the pattern of splitting and expansion was continually modified by conquest and absorption. For example, the descendants of Mwaipasi (81) of the junior line have no chiefdom, and the descendants of Mwamwifu (84) were defeated and absorbed by Mwaipopo II (116), and the junior house of Mwakisambwe (30) appears never to have established itself. His second son named in the genealogy, Mwamukinga II (44), was a full brother of the senior heir Mwamukinga I (43), not the heir of the second house. And of the descendants of Mwankyuse (33) only one heir appears to have established himself in each generation.

Although a chiefdom was surrounded by pasture land with unoccupied savannah forest beyond it, when the heirs 'came out' their fathers moved. The old men gave the senior heir a site in the centre of the country, not exactly where his father had lived but somewhere near the senior village of the past generation, and the old men moved aside to make room for the new village. The old men's villages diminished in size for many members had died and not all the heirs had come to live where their fathers had lived, and the homesteads were built on the periphery of the young men's villages. Traditionally most of the cultivated land was reallocated at the 'coming out' also, but that no longer happens. Nowadays, even where the 'coming out' is celebrated, the old men continue to cultivate until their death most of the fields they cultivated before the 'coming out', vacating only their homestead sites and adjoining gardens. The dominance of the younger generation is reflected in their compact villages, forming wide straight avenues, in central positions in the country, while the villages of older men are often split, and their homesteads scattered without order. The avenues are felt to contribute to the dignity of the ruling generation and the older men are content to withdraw that their sons may 'display themselves' (*ukumoga*).

[602] Age, territorial, and kinship grouping interlock in a complex

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

fashion. Each village is occupied by an age-set and men are emphatic that age and friendship, not kinship, are the basis of a village, but the villages of fathers, sons, and grandsons commonly, though not invariably, adjoin one another, as Bujege, Igembe, and Lupando, or Lupondo, Njisi, and Iringa in Mwaipopo's chiefdom (*vide* plan, p. 101). Each section of a chiefdom comprises half the ruling generation, and interspersed with their villages are those of their fathers and sons. Men are identified by the name of their village, section, and chief; the village name defines their age-set, the name of section and chief their generation. The section name is always that of the senior village which leads it. Generation succeeds generation in office when their heirs 'come out', but the relative position of villages (age-sets) within a generation remains constant. Since chiefdoms traditionally split each generation at the 'coming out' the men of the retired generation who remained belonged to one section only; those of the other section of their generation were members of another chiefdom. The territorial arrangements reflected in the plan of Mwaipopo's chiefdom on p. 101 are modified by the fact that the chiefdom has not split for four generations. In generation I Kibonde was the portion of the junior heir, Mwafungo (83), but he died young and his land and widow were inherited by the senior brother, Mwaijonga (82). The son of this leviratical union, Mwakipesile (118), went through the 'coming out' in generation II along with Mwaijonga's heirs, Ijonga (114, representing her full brother 115), and Mwakabule (117). Mwakipesile inherited Kibonde and Mwakabule inherited Kituli, but both were later defeated in war by Mwaipopo II and their land incorporated in his chiefdom. Mwakipesile's heir, Likosyela, and Mwakabule remained as subordinate chiefs. Though the girl Ijonga celebrated the 'coming out' in place of her unborn brother she could not rule, and Mwaiteteja, son of Mwaijonga II (younger full brother of 82) acted for her. He was finally defeated by Mwaipopo II and fled to the periphery of the country. Kabula was his village, and he was subordinate to Mwaipopo, not independent.

In generation III the chiefdom did not split because by that time the British administration was in control, and the territorial division remained much the same, Igembe and Njisi becoming the senior villages in place of Bujege and Lupondo, with Mwankuga (150) and Mwaseba (152) as the young chiefs. Kibonde,

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
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Kituli, and Kabula still remained somewhat detached. In generation IV the second heir, Mwabungulu (178), has moved out to the forest and the area occupied and ruled by Mwaijonga and Mwaipopo is still one, with a division between Lupando and Iringa. Kibonde is fully absorbed into Lupando, and Kituli and Kabula into Iringa—no descendants of Mwakipesile of Kibonde and Mwakabule of Kituli went through the 'coming out' with Mwanyilu as chiefs. Kibonde, Kituli, and Kabula are subdivided into age-villages of three generations, but these are not shown on the plan. They are spoken of by outsiders by the inclusive names.

To a European the most surprising fact about the age-organization is that a young man of the ruling generation may still choose to move into the homestead of his deceased father or elder brother. We knew one young man, who had been spoken of as a possible village headman at the coming out of Mwanyilu, but shortly before the 'coming out' he chose to move into the homestead of his deceased father in Lupondo village (where his father in turn had inherited) even though he might have inherited his father's wealth in wives and stock and returned to his own village of Masoko, after completing the ritual of death and inheritance. Our informants insisted that, though the young men might rule, the older generation were the more honoured, and in inheriting from his father this man was classified as a member of his father's generation. Nevertheless many young men do *not* choose to move into the village of the father or elder brother from whom they inherit, and the villages of old men decrease in size and finally disappear altogether.

The relation between kinship and territorial grouping cannot easily be indicated by plans and genealogies for though in theory each village consists of 'sons' of a village of the previous generation (as shown in the table facing p. 91) there is considerable movement from one village to another, and the members of any adult village usually prove to have come from a number of different villages, though a boy's village consists of sons of adjoining villages. The table of members of three of the villages of Mwaipopo's chiefdom illustrates this (*vide* pp. 224-6). An analysis of genealogies showing where different members live gives much the same picture. Though the shortage of land in the coffee-growing chiefdoms of the hills and the rice-growing chiefdoms of the plain is tending to obliterate the age-village organization, the old

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
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system is still the accepted form in Mwaipopo's chiefdom; the advantages of separating kinsmen in different villages are explicitly stated, and the contrast between the Nyakyusa and their neighbours in this respect emphasized. 'Certainly we do not live with kinsmen here but the Kinga do.' 'It is not good for a son to live close to his father, they will quarrel.' 'When we move to another village we consider friendship not kinship in selecting it.'

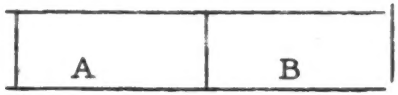
(*b*) THE BALANCE BETWEEN GENERATIONS AND SECTIONS

The ritual cycle of the 'coming out' and the sacrifices in the groves helped to maintain a balance of power between generations, as well as between chiefs and commoners. At the 'coming out' of Mwanyilu (177) in 1953 it was Mwabuputa, the senior village headman of his father, who took the leading part. He was described as 'the greatest man in the country' who 'brings out the chief' and his manner indicated that he was well aware of his power. During the reign of Mwaipopo (116) the power of his father's village headmen, Njobakosa and Ngulyo, was apparent at every ritual. Spiritual power was shared between chiefs and commoners, but exercised ideally by a virile chief of the ruling generation and the experienced headmen of the retired generation.

Those chosen as senior village headmen at the 'coming out' are commonly older than the young chief, but village headmen are thought of as surviving their chief—it is they who were responsible for smothering him, and performing the sacrifices in his grove. The headmanship is an *office* and so long as the office is necessary an incumbent is found for it, in the person of the heir of the original holder who is so closely identified with the deceased that most precise inquiry is often necessary to establish whether a given individual is the original holder, the succeeding heir, or a later heir, successor to the successor. The Ngulyo who officiated at the rituals in 1935 was the heir of the original Ngulyo (some said the *grandson*, not the son) and he was criticized by Kasitile as being 'a young man who knew nothing'. The principle, so familiar in Central Africa, of a perpetual office[1] emerges, among the

[1] I. Cunnison, *Kinship and Local Organization on the Luapula*, Communications of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute No. 5 (1950), pp. 14-15; J. C. Mitchell, *The Yao Village*, Manchester (1956), p. 122; A. I. Richards, *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia*, O.U.P. (1939), p. 24; 'Some Types of Family Structure among the Central Bantu, in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, p. 224; J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, London (1911), p. 3.

Chart showing position of sections of plan of Mwaipopo's Chiefdom. (Facing p. 100)



9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
FN17 Ngonde FN17
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361
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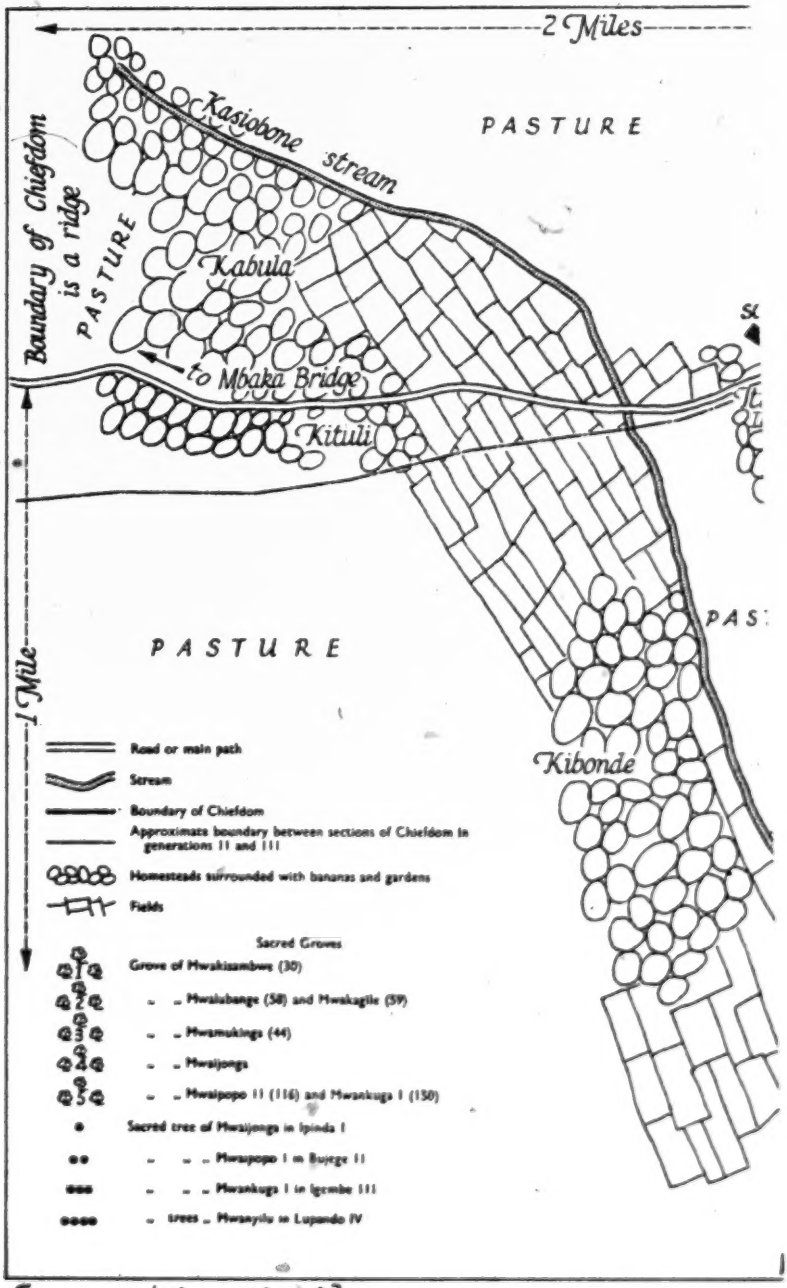

[facing p. 100; section A]

PLAN OF MWAIPOPO'S CHIEFDOM

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
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POPO'S CHIEFDOM (C 24) IN 1955 [facing p. 100; section B]

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
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CHAPTER XII

PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN

(a) THE GROWTH OF A CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

With the arrival of European missionaries at the end of the nineteenth century[1] a new set of religious ideas was introduced and a new form of social grouping established. The early missionaries settled on land which they bought from various chiefs and gathered round them workers and refugees—the survivors of slave-raids in neighbouring areas—many of whom gradually became converts. In BuNyakyusa a new type of village, a Christian village, was established on mission land and the converts who occupied it were largely withdrawn from the authority of the chief, looking instead to the missionary as their leader. In Ngonde the development was rather different. The converts were not gathered on mission land but stayed in their own villages, where they were expected to spread the gospel among their neighbours. The difference was partly due to a difference in policy between the Scottish mission operating[2] in Ngonde, and the Moravian and Lutheran[3] missions operating in BuNyakyusa, but it was emphasized by differences in the history of the two areas. In Ngonde the missionaries became the allies of the Ngonde against the Arab slavers, whereas in BuNyakyusa there was no such alliance. The Scottish mission deliberately sought to convert and train the traditional leaders, and so gain the whole community, whereas the Moravians and Lutherans preferred to withdraw their converts from the surrounding pagan community.[4]

The number of converts increased much more rapidly in Ngonde than in BuNyakyusa, but after forty years of missionary activity the structural pattern was growing similar. More and more

[1] For an account of the first contacts of the Nyakyusa and Ngonde with Europeans, and bibliography on it, cf. Monica Wilson, *Good Company*, pp. 81-1, 273-6.

[2] The Livingstonia Mission of the Free Church of Scotland which later united with the Church of Scotland. It is still referred to in Ngonde as 'Free Church'.

[3] The Berlin Society (Berlin I).

[4] For an admirable account of the development of mission policy in East Africa, see Roland Oliver, *The Missionary Factor in East Africa* (1952). Dr. Oliver describes the withdrawal of converts on to mission stations as typical of the *first* phase of mission activity and this is true for the Moravian and Lutheran missions, but Christians in Ngonde were never so withdrawn.

[p. 166]

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
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of the Nyakyusa converts chose to live, not in Christian villages on mission land, but in Christian sections of pagan villages—often grouped round a school—and after the establishment of Indirect Rule in 1926 the independence of Nyakyusa living on mission land from the authority of chiefs was no longer recognized officially, though in practice they were not regarded as chiefs' men in quite the same way as other people when it came to calling up conscripts for labour service. One of the signs of the difference between pagan and Christian in relation to the chief is that Christians are not punctilious about sending to the chiefs the customary cut (the breast) of every animal killed, as are pagans, and even the most conservative do not fear the 'breath' of their neighbours if they neglect the tribute.

After the war of 1914-18 three new missions were established in the Nyakyusa valley: the White Fathers, the Benedictines, and the Pentecostal Holiness Association. Two churches of purely African origin emerged: the Last Church of God and His Christ, commonly called the BaNgemela after its leader, and the African National Church led by Paddy Nyasuru, which flourished in Ngonde and had a few members across the Songwe in Bu-Nyakyusa. And there was a small group of Watch Tower[1] with Nyakyusa leaders, but acknowledging a vague affiliation with a Watch Tower mission in Northern Rhodesia, and corresponding with the Watch Tower offices in Cape Town, from which they obtained literature. As the publications sent were in English or Nyanja, neither of which the local Watch Tower members could read,[2] and the correspondence was also in English, the link was a tenuous one, but Rutherford's apocalyptic pamphlets, prophesying a speedy judgement on 'the goat class', were carried about reverently.

Therefore, by 1935 there were a number of different religious associations, more or less closely connected. The Moravians, Lutherans, and Church of Scotland worked in different areas and co-operated closely; but between them and the Roman Catholics and Pentecostal and the purely African or 'independent' Churches there was little co-operation and sometimes tension. The great bulk of the Christians (74 per cent) belong to the three long-established missions—Moravian, Lutheran, and Church of

[1] Jehovah's Witnesses. For an account of the tenets and international organization of this denomination, see Horton Davies, *Christian Deviations*, O.U.P. (1954), pp. 63 ff.

[2] We ourselves were called upon as scribes and translators.

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
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Scotland—and it is with their organization that we are primarily concerned.

Each denomination is divided into congregations, local groups living in villages surrounding a central Church which usually has its own pastor or minister—European or African—in charge, though the shortage of men and funds after 1914 meant that one minister was sometimes in charge of two congregations. For the fifteen congregations of the three Churches mentioned there were eleven ministers in 1937, three of them Africans, and the congregations varied in size from just over 600 to 3,000 members. They included communicant members—that is, adults who had been baptized, and the children of Christians who, after having been baptized in infancy, were confirmed during adolescence—children of Christians who had been baptized but not yet confirmed; 'hearers' and catechumens who were undergoing a two or three years' period of instruction before baptism, and members under discipline who, because of some serious breach of Church law were not, for the time being, admitted to communion. Women members outnumbered the men by more than three to one in the congregations in Ngonde (where many men were away as labour migrants) and by three to two in the Moravian congregations in BuNyakyusa.

The functions of the congregation are worship, evangelization, religious instruction, and sometimes, general education and welfare. Each congregation chooses elders from among its members and they, together with the minister, form the 'Session' or Church Court which deals with matters of discipline and administration within its area, as well as discussing matters of Church policy which may later be brought up before a higher court or council.

Both men and women are eligible for office as elders, but their duties are somewhat different. Each male elder is in charge of the Christians in a given area, usually those living in one age-village. He organizes services in the village, often taking them himself, and choosing suitable people from among the residents to help him. He instructs candidates for baptism, holding the weekly classes for 'hearers' and catechumens; he visits the sick; above all he must try and compose quarrels among his people. It is customary among pagans for a husband and wife who quarrel to take their dispute to a senior kinsman or to a neighbour; among Christians such disputes are usually taken to the elder, since the Church is immediately concerned in maintaining the marriage bond. The

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
FN17 Ngonde FN17
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Christians. A revealing phrase was used of Ngemela by one of his followers: 'He is our European.'

Two sets of rituals are celebrated in BuNyakyusa, but there are not two communities. Nearly all the Christians have pagan kinsfolk with whom they co-operate in practical affairs, many of the Christians live in pagan villages, though usually in separate sections of them. In the early years of the missions there was clearly some friction—there were accusations of witchcraft against those who learnt to read and write for if they were not witches how could they have learnt? And there was talk of people 'hiding their witchcraft in Christianity'. Pagans averred that in the land of the shades Christians ate frogs—a symbol of difference and dislike oddly familiar to Englishmen. But by 1935 it had become almost conventional for a boy who went to school to become Christian, and if later he became betrothed to a pagan girl, she was expected to join a catechumen's class and be baptized also. The opposition from pagan kinsfolk was small except in the case of an heir to wealth or office. Then there was bitter objection. For if a young man became Christian he could neither inherit his father's wives nor increase the influence of the lineage in the approved fashion by marrying several wives himself, and much of the family wealth would pass to a junior line. If a convert were heir to a chiefdom, or likely to succeed his father as village headman, it was felt that he would not be able to maintain his position with only one wife, and succession to a pagan priesthood was totally impossible.

The Christians, for their part, press their pagan relatives to join them in the Church, and a considerable proportion of conversions occur in this way. It is common for a mother to join her son, or a younger brother his elder brother of the same house. For a father, to whom baptism would mean sending away all his wives save one, the step is a much more difficult one and indeed not pressed by some missionaries, who are aware of the difficulties of elderly women so divorced. But whether kinsfolk worship together or not, there can still be amity and friendship.

Thus, in addition to the traditional system of chiefdoms and villages with groups of chiefs co-operating to perform sacrifices to common ancestors and certain more distant heroes, there are Christian Churches whose members are organized in local congregations, and presbytery or diocese. The traditional religion expresses the unity of lineages and chiefdoms: the new religion

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
FN17 Ngonde FN17
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795 797 [341] expresses the unity of groups of believers who associate in Churches. But the two systems are not wholly exclusive: the Christian still belongs to a lineage and a chiefdom, though he does not worship as a member of either, and thereby impairs their solidarity.

(*b*) THE CHRISTIAN WITHDRAWAL

What is the attitude of Christian converts to the rituals performed by their pagan kinsmen and neighbours and what replaces the traditional pagan rituals in the Christian community? These questions have already been touched upon in the accounts of pagan rituals, but we must now consider them more fully.

Christians withdraw very largely from the pagan rituals of [764] kinship which, as was shown in a previous book, are directed to the shades. They attend the funerals of pagan kinsmen to weep and comfort the mourners, and they often undertake the work of grave-digging so fearful to pagans, but they take no part in the 'farewell to the dead' nor do the stricter among them eat of the funeral meat, since the cattle killed are an offering to the shades. [845] Christians do not participate in the twin ritual which brings together such a large number of pagan kinsmen, nor do they share in the puberty ritual, and they forbid their daughters to keep a pagan bride company during her seclusion. For the most part their withdrawal is accepted tolerantly by their pagan kin who carry on without them, a pagan father even performing the 'farewell to the dead' for a Christian son who has died, lest his lineage shades be angered by the omission, but occasionally the non-participation of Christians leads to strained relations, as when pagans refuse to visit [585] or eat with a bride or a remarried widow who has not celebrated with them after her union with her husband, and sometimes a Church member, under pressure from pagan relatives or driven by his own fears, celebrates the ritual for a pagan father. The [845] dropping of the elaborate twin ritual creates surprisingly little difficulty considering how much the pagans fear sickness from twins. Their birth is interpreted by Christians as a special blessing —a bounteous increase—rather than 'an illness' as the pagans call it. A Christian woman, asked if a mother of twins was not fearful when the ritual was omitted, gave a classic reply: 'What she thinks in her heart I can't see; what I think in my heart you can't see; but we *do* see that no one avoids her when they meet her face to face.'

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
FN17 Ngonde FN17
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177 that they have always been cattle men and they need no instruc-
[232] tion on cattle. The tension over stock limitation and soil con-
[242] servation, so acute in many parts of Africa, is only just appearing in Rungwe district, but potentially it is serious.

Pressure on land, and the planting of a valuable long-term crop
[311] such as coffee, have undermined the traditional organization of
[361] age-villages. The old men are no longer prepared to move to make way for their sons and, without a new deal in land each
[161] generation, the territorial separation of the generations is blurred. Boys villages are no longer visible in the hills near Rungwe mission, partly because so many young men are away, either at school or in employment, but largely because most of the land is taken up with coffee gardens. Homesteads are being built farther apart as men lay out coffee round their houses, and sons often build on a corner of their father's estate instead of in a separate village. On the plain, also, the pressure of population blurs the boundaries between generations. Only in the least heavily populated middle belt are numerous boys' villages still clearly visible, and here too a 'coming out' has recently been celebrated, with some redistribution of land. The scarcest land, that in old volcanic craters, was always inherited, like cattle, not reallocated each generation, and almost all cultivated land is now treated in this way. In many chiefdoms, therefore, a young man looks to his father or senior brother for land, rather than to the village head-
[428] man, and inheritance is supremely important. But the form of inheritance is changing: property now goes directly from father to son, not as formerly to each of a group of full brothers before reverting to the senior son of the eldest of them. The claims of more distant kinsmen on inherited stock are less than they used to be; such stock becomes the exclusive property of father and sons, rather than property in which members of a lineage of three or
[603] four generations have reciprocal rights. The main economic bond which held the lineage together, the exchange of cattle, is thus broken.

Formerly a marriage was a contract between lineages rather
[583] than between individuals. A girl was betrothed before puberty to a
[581] man of her father's choice and should he die she was still regarded as married to his heir. Should she die a sister replaced her. Ideally a marriage bond between lineages lasted for generations, each man who died being replaced by a brother or son, each woman by a sister or brother's daughter. The choice of a partner in marriage

10:Gulliver E-5 (1954-1955) 1958 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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CHAPTER II

THE TRADITIONAL SYSTEM

Although this essay is to be primarily concerned with the modern and changing land and population situation among the Nyakyusa of the Lake Plains, it is quite essential first to have an understanding of the traditional system of political and territorial organisation and of land tenure. This is not mere historicism, for despite changes the traditional system remains as the basis of contemporary land-holding and land law. Whilst actual conditions on the ground change, the Nyakyusa appreciation of those changes and their attitudes to land lag significantly behind. In brief, the traditional system was geared to a situation where there was plenty of land. Today the people find real difficulty in adjusting themselves to a high density of population and an acute shortage of land, with the result that this new situation is aggravated by outmoded practices, attitudes and cultural values.

The ancestors of the present group of peoples now known collectively as the Nyakyusa, moved into the Rungwe region from the Ukinga Highlands to the east beyond the peaks of the Livingstone Mountains. According to legend, which is probably substantially true, these newcomers found a sparsely populated country which they easily occupied. Later, following internecine strife, one group under a man called Mwakyusa left the Masoko area in the centre of present-day Rungwe District and moved down into the Lake Plains. There, probably less than 150 years ago, they drove out the Ngonde people and settled. The sons of Mwakyusa took their shares of the country and people and established their independent chiefdoms. The chiefs in 1956 are the lineal descendants, mainly in the fifth generation, of Mwakyusa, and have a well-known genealogy. The only exception to this occurs amongst the group of tiny chiefdoms in the extreme east under the Livingstones, which now form a single administrative chiefdom under Mwakilasa and number some 400 men. They trace descent from pre-Nyakyusa settlers known as the Saku.

Traditionally, as today, the village was the basic unit both in social life generally and in land-holding in particular. The Nyakyusa village was possibly unique in Africa. It was comprised of men of roughly the same age, together with their wives and young children, and it excluded their fathers and sons and also, very often, their elder and younger brothers. Each village consisted of a close group of houses (often centred on a broad "village street"), with arable and pastoral land around it. Each village had fairly well-defined boundaries with its neighbours. The village was represented as a group and acted corporately through its headman, *lifumu*, who was the guardian of villagers' land rights, the arbiter in land problems and disputes, and the controller of unused land. He was also the political and ritual leader of the village, but nevertheless he was a commoner chosen from amongst the villagers themselves, and was not a member of a chiefly lineage.

Land was owned by the village as a group. Every man resident in the village had a clear right to a site for his house and banana plot and to arable land within the village boundaries; he also had a right to graze his cattle in its communal pastures. Residence gave these rights and members of other villages were excluded. A man who left the village automatically gave up these rights, though if he returned he was able to take up his former holding or its equivalent.

631 628 Age-villages combined to form a chiefdom under the hereditary chief, *amalaf'yale*, but active co-operation between villages thus associated was often slight; indeed in the larger chiefdoms there commonly existed intermittent animosity which might break out in raiding or even civil war. The [721] [648] integrity of these larger chiefdoms was weak – for example, when the Nyakyusa were attacked by Sangu and Ngoni war-parties, and later by the Germans, villages of the same chiefdom conspicuously failed to join in common defence. Similarly the land affairs of one village were no concern of any other, and each jealously guarded its own rights.

631 162 None of the chiefdoms was large; smallness of scale is typical of Nyakyusa political organisation and social attitudes. In 1955 the smallest indigenous chiefdom contained only 36 men. In 1948 55,700 people were divided amongst about 18 indigenous chiefs, but undoubtedly had not the Colonial Government frozen the system there would have been rather more – at least five more. Today there are 12 recognised "administrative chiefs", amongst whom five have each less than 3,000 people under them, and the largest chiefdom contains fewer than 10,000 people – the average is just over 4,000 people.

631 361 Nevertheless the chiefdom, the collection of villages, was important, because in the creation of the chiefdom villages were created, and in its development the villages developed, matured and died away. A village survived only so long as its members lived and by the nature of the age-organisation there was but little possibility of the recruitment of new members, for villagers' sons left to form their own new villages. Their sons eventually came to comprise the core of the new chiefdoms.

642 643 [796] [898] In connection with the constitution of a Nyakyusa village and with land tenure, the significant feature of the chiefdom was its establishment, together with the induction of a new chief, at the great "coming-out" ceremony, *ubusoka*. In brief, each chief was succeeded by two of his sons – the eldest son of each of the senior houses of the chief, i.e., of his first two wives. At the "coming-out" ceremony, when the sons were still young men and their father was not a particularly old man, the old chiefdom was divided into two, each part coming under one of the new young chiefs. Before this critical occasion – at which much important ritual was performed – the younger men of the old chiefdom had already moved away from their fathers villages and had established their own incipient villages nearby, each one containing a group of coevals. A Nyakyusa boy from the age of about seven years could not continue to live with his father and mother, but, in company with his equals, built his own hut on a site adjacent to the main village as indicated by the fathers' headman. Until the "coming-out" ceremony these youths' villages came under the control of the old village headmen; but with the induction of the new chiefs they achieved independent status, each with its own headman appointed from among its members by the old headmen. Each new village was allocated a new building site and a new arable area, and quite commonly the old villages, the older men, moved away a little in order to give the younger men adequate access to the land, for it was considered that the young men's needs for land were paramount.

631 [342] 631 [178] [622] 643 [888] After this wholesale reorganisation of the old chiefdom, when new villages were established and new boundaries demarcated,[1] the old chief himself, the old headmen and the older men (the "fathers") gradually retired from active public life. The old chief was supposed to commit suicide after a time (or was quietly killed off) in order to leave the field clear for his sons; the old headmen became the religious and ritual leaders of the new chiefdoms, with the flavour of elder statesmanship, and the old men's

1. "At the 'carve up of' it is said that 'everything is given away', boundaries are redrawn and the new chiefdoms and villages of the young men are [illegible]". Wilson, G., 1938, p. 31.

Sometimes a chief who was a powerful personality rode roughshod over his headmen and achieved a measure of autocracy; but most headmen would not allow this and in their opposition they had the full support of their villagers, as well as the moral backing of public opinion. There are remembered cases in pre-European days when a chief was deposed or reduced to a non-entity by his headmen acting together in the face of what they considered to be encroachments on the inviolability of village unity and independence. In any case, however, even the strongest chiefs were little disposed to interfere in the land matters of their villages; few wished to be bothered with the details of land rights. A chief could legitimately complain if he were not kept informed by his headmen, but his approval of their actions – and most especially in land matters – was very largely a formality.

Traditional Land Tenure

As already briefly described, a village comes into formal existence at the time of the formation of a new chiefdom. At that time its building site and arable and pastoral areas were roughly demarcated by the retiring headmen of the old chiefdom. Within the village, members were allocated their house plots and each man tended to take the strip of land stretching behind his plot and make his field there. The land was shared out on a friendly, co-operative basis; the new headman smoothed out any difficulties and settled any disputes. Thus was the pattern of land-holding established. Apart from the relative value of a plot proximate to a man's house, there was little or no cause for dispute as land needs were small and the supply plentiful. An established villager could, without notification or special permission, extend his cultivation to any land which lay vacant – i.e., which was not in use or under fallow by a fellow-villager. There was therefore no need for a man to try at first to grab more land than he immediately required, nor did he need to be jealous of his neighbours' claims.

A villager's rights to the use of his land were quite secure and he had no fear of eviction or of the seizure of part of his holding. It is said that very occasionally a chief might take a man's holding but I think, at least in the Lake Plains, that this must have been most unusual. In fact, of course, so long as a man was allowed to reap his crop there was little value attached to the plot as such when nearly similar ground stood unused. Men sought security not on their plots of land, but in their membership of the village community, which assured them of their continuing rights to adequate opportunity for cultivation over the years. However, virtually every man had an excellent security of tenure on his holding during the mature life of his age-village (i.e. until at least the next "coming-out" ceremony), and if he died his heir, should he wish, could come and live in his house and cultivate his fields without hindrance. The way in which he cultivated, though of course strongly conditioned by custom and convention, was his own affair, and he sub-divided his holding amongst his own family as he thought fit. He could not, however, allocate any of his land to a man living in another village, nor could he permit it to be cultivated by such a stranger.

Through fear of witchcraft, because of persistent illness, misfortune or unfriendliness, in order to live near a relative or friend, or to inherit elsewhere, a man might leave his village and his age-mates. Then he had to give up his land-holding. When a man moved because of witchcraft or illness (much the same thing and a chief cause of movement) his land was normally left idle pending his hoped-for return, and his former neighbours would do all they could to induce him to return to his old home and fields – even to the use of force (see Wilson, G. 1938, pp. 32-3). His departure was an accusation against them, and a disturbance of co-operative unity. If the man consistently refused to return, or if it was known that he had definitely left for good, his

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Nyakyusa

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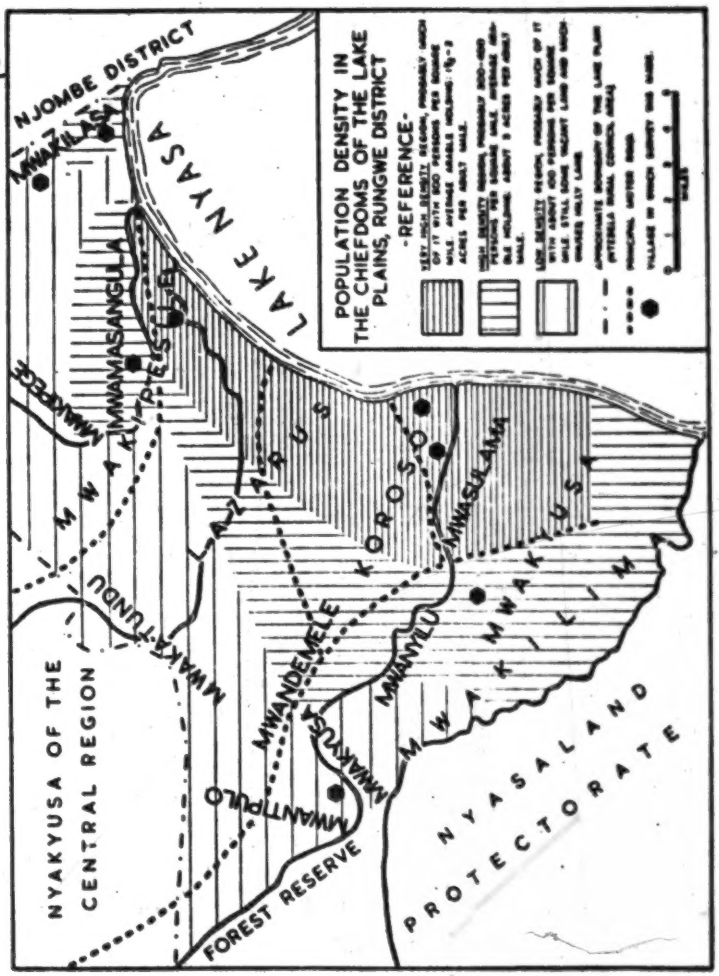

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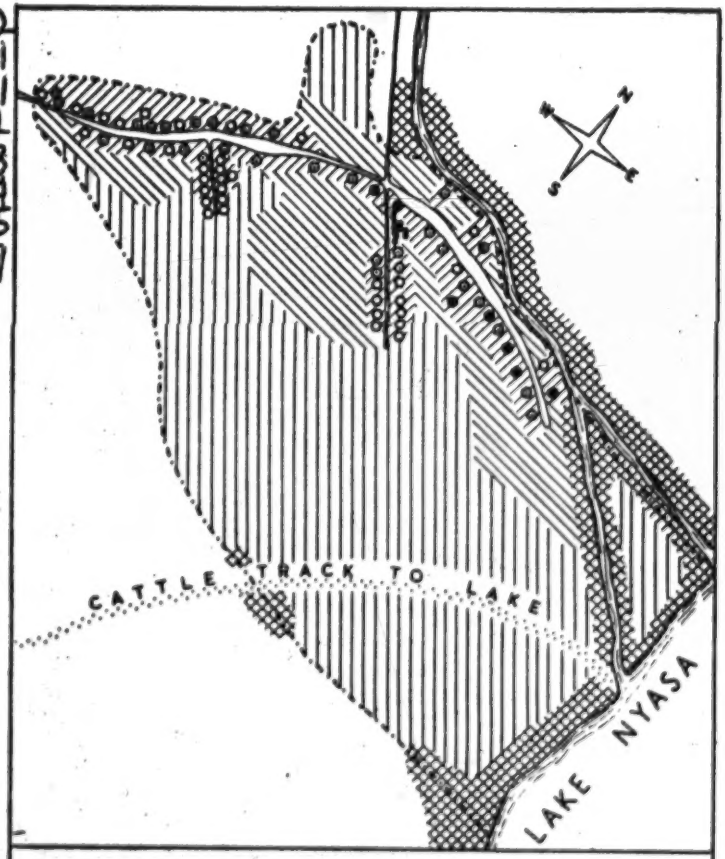

SKETCH PLAN OF KAPUGI VILLAGE,
KOROSO'S CHIEFDOM, 1955

-REFERENCE-

HUT OR HOMESTEAD OF:
- MAN OVER 50 YEARS
- MAN ABOUT 30-50 YEARS
- MAN ABOUT 17-30 YEARS
- YOUTH OR BOY

VILLAGE BOUNDARY

BANANAS AND OTHER TREES (CITRUS, MANGO, FIREWOOD, ETC)

MAIZE AND BEANS

MUDDY (THE PARTS NEARER THE HOMESTEADS ARE USED IN THE DRY SEASON FOR BEANS, MAIZE)

SEDGE AND REED THICKET

[Facing p. 29]

there remained scattered pieces here and there which could be taken up, and some existing holdings in the area are too large for the agricultural capabilities of their occupiers. The temporary safety valve was shut off. The local headman had become seriously worried over the large-scale alienation of his land resources without any equivalent increase in the number of his villagers, and he also wished to conserve the remaining land against the now better understood needs of his own people. 423 78

The principle of no land without residence also means that a villager who wishes to move must automatically forfeit his land-holding in the village. A little earlier he would most probably have been able to retain at least his fields beyond the immediate vicinity of the houses – in so far as his new residence was not too far away to allow continued cultivation. This has been especially important for younger men who, wishing to take up a vacant holding elsewhere, also desire to retain their share of the paternal holding obtained by inheritance. Conversely, they are now unable to move on to their father's holding and yet retain their fields in their own village. Such men must now make a permanent decision between the utility of, perhaps, two inadequate holdings which, *however, combined together might be of* satisfactory size.

As a consequence of this, inter-village opposition is probably greater than it has ever been in European times, and no less strong perhaps than it was in the old days. Men feel that the security of their holdings, the future of their sons, and the possibility of increasing their arable cultivation lies wholly within the security and stability of their own village. They tend to see other villages and other villagers as a potential threat to their own land requirements; they often suspect the worst of neighbouring villages who, they think, will, given the chance, seize some of their land. Headmen and villagers would refuse to cross the boundary into another village when they accompanied me during my investigations, lest they be accused of contemplating appropriation of the land there. Such aliens who still retained land in a village were regarded with some animosity. Nyakyusa would not look beyond their own village boundaries in an attempt to make an appreciation of the modern overall land situation. They wished only tenaciously to cling to what they already had and to guard it jealously; they were only too inclined to believe that other villages nearby were better off and to use them as scapegoats for their own difficulties and shortage. It must be said that this renewed insistence on village exclusiveness and the inviolability of village boundaries has in fact tended to make for a certain inequality of land-holding according to the perceptiveness and celerity with which headmen claimed authority over formerly vacant lands. This condition is, however, overexaggerated in men's claims today, and in any case it is tending to disappear under the pressure of inter-village movement. [628]

The Nyakyusa village in the Lake Plains, with its intensified independence and aggressive exclusiveness, and jealous of its believed permanent boundaries, has not at the same time been able to retain its traditional coeval basis. Whereas formerly the youths of a village moved to one side, there to build their own hamlet and eventually to acquire their own fields in association with its establishment as a full village in its own right, now this is no longer feasible or even possible, for the land is not available for this sort of expansion. The you[illegible]men are driven back on a dependence on the fields already held by their fathers in the old village. They gradually move into their fathers' places and take over the paternal holdings; or, as we have seen, they seek where they may to obtain new allocations in any other village where they can gain admittance. The coeval basis of village living is lost. [181]

The boys and youths still leave their fathers' houses and build their first, small huts together on a site somewhere adjacent to the main village site, [882] [361] [561]

as determined by the village headman. But even building sites with the essentially associated banana groves are becoming increasingly scarce and valuable, for no one desires to decrease the amount of arable by enlarging the built-up areas – rather the reverse. The number of young men's villages is therefore diminishing and congestion of their huts is increasing to the stage very often where no more than a narrow passage if left between adjacent houses. There comes to be a wider age range in the young men's hamlets where, often, a large village provides only one for all its sons. Smaller villages sometimes provide no accommodation at all for their sons, who are thus compelled to seek membership of a neighbouring group. These hamlets are mainly regarded nowadays as temporary residential areas for the young men until such time as they move on to an existing holding – their father's or some other. There is therefore no attempt to provide sufficient space for an adequate banana grove with each young man's house, let alone a food-crop plot behind it. The arable land beyond the congested huts already belongs to inhabitants of the main village. When a young man is able to leave and take up a holding, his vacated site (together, often, with the hut) is taken over by a waiting youth who has probably been sharing with another hitherto.

These young men's hamlets do not, any longer, eventually mature and become villages in their own right with their own headman and arable lands. Formerly, when this occurred, they would probably have taken over a good deal of the lands of the old village, as the young men exercised the privileges of their new maturity against their elders with the emergence of the new chiefdom. New chiefdoms, and with them new villages, no longer emerge, and this is mainly because Government has prohibited the bifurcation of petty chiefdoms on the death of the old chief, as it is considered inconsistent with the development of stable, modern local government. Additionally, however, the shortage of land can no longer allow of the traditional expanding politico-territorial organisation. The elder men's villages are not now prepared to yield ground to the young men, and the latter cannot expand elsewhere. Thus political requirements and land restriction work together to make the old system obsolete and to freeze the spatial distribution of villages as it existed in early European times. As far as I could ascertain in the chiefdoms of the Lake Plains, probably no new village had emerged in the past 20 or more years, except for a few cases of large ones splitting into two for administrative and social convenience. Many villages there date back to pre-European days often now under the son, or even the grandson, of the original headman (though this is not essential or invariable in any way).

The age-basis of the Nyakyusa village is thus disappearing; indeed, in many villages it has already disappeared in everything but the young men's hamlets. Where the process has gone least far, there is still apparent a rough division of the single village into the old men's sector (men at least 50 years of age, and many much older); the middle-aged men's sector (men between about 30 and 50 years old, being the younger brothers or elder sons of the old men); and the young men's and youths' sector. On inheritance, sons tend to show a continued reluctance to move and live on their father's house-site and to become immediate neighbours of older men; they avoid it if possible, often allowing a middle-aged man to shift there instead. Nevertheless even this sort of age-division is rapidly vanishing and in very many villages a man's neighbour may be of any age.

We have seen that inheritance is now one of the chief methods of obtaining land. Under the new inheritance rules, this means that sons follow their fathers and take up their fathers' arable holdings, building sites and banana groves. Some young men inherit early, others inherit late; there is no longer any notion or possibility of the younger generation entering into its

10:Gulliver E-5 (1954-1955) 1958 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

land en bloc. Young men compete with one another, with their elder brothers and with their fathers for allocations of land left vacant. We also saw, however, that often in the larger families[1] not all the sons are able to get a share of the paternal holding, or at least not a share of practicable size. Thus younger sons are forced to resort to trying to obtain vacant land elsewhere – possibly within the same village, but as often as not outside. Finally, the young man on his new holding may find his neighbours to be of any age; certainly they will not have been members of his own original coeval hamlet.

The way for this changing concept of village life and the new sort of village was prepared in the years before land shortage became important. The changed political system has been briefly noted already, but no less important was the great increase in inter-village movement in earlier European days when peace and personal security had been established. During this period Wilson (1938, page 32) reckoned that perhaps 80 per cent. of Nyakyusa shifted at least once from the place where they first obtained fields. This estimate, whilst perhaps holding good for Highland Nyakyusa amongst whom Wilson mainly worked, was too high for the people of the Lake Plains, where about 40 per cent. is more correct according to my genealogical and village surveys. That is still a relatively high degree of mobility for a mainly subsistence, peasant society such as it was in those years. It is clear that the pseudo-fraternal bond of coevality could not persist as a main element of village life and consciousness, when in fact as many as half of the members of a village were not original coeval founders but had come in from elsewhere. Before the land shortage, movement did not entail the shifting of young men to other young men's villages, or of older men to other older men's villages. It was, at least eventually, promiscuous movement, ignoring age categories. The compulsions of land shortage seem, in retrospect, only to have followed existing lines of village development and to have begun the completion of the process.

In the Lake Plains, therefore, the village persists as a close, territorial, land-owning group and as a specific cluster of homesteads and huts, usually with a village street, the whole closely hemmed in by continuous banana groves. Beyond this lie the arable lands, usually food-crop fields nearby and paddy fields farther off. In jealously protecting what it already holds, the village has gained a new exclusiveness, for the security of the individual land-holder is maintained by the corporate ownership of the village and by excluding outsiders as far as possible. On the other hand, it is no longer an age-village either in fact or intention, and it cannot be, for age-villages were consistent only with an expanding territorial system and a subsistence economy.

This brief analysis of Nyakyusa village organisation in recent times applies only to the Lake Plains. In some parts of both the Central Region and the Northern Highlands the age-basis of Nyakyusa villages had most probably already been seriously weakened in pre-European times.[2] On the other hand, elsewhere, and particularly in the more conservative parts less affected by modern trends and the cash economy, the traditional age-village still exists in something like its old form.

Land shortage has appeared in the Highlands together with a developing cash economy, but the basis of agricultural and economic change lies mainly in coffee cultivation which, of course, requires relatively smaller fields than does paddy in the Lake Plains, but it needs more care and attention from the grower for moderate success. As far as I could see in the course of

1. Polygyny is still the norm amongst the older and many middle-aged men, and therefore a father often leaves several sons to inherit.
2. According to elderly informants in Western Kukwe, Mwakaleli and some central chiefdoms, and also the evidence of old village sites.

10:Gulliver E-5 (1954-1955)1958 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

my earlier labour migration enquiries in the Highlands, the village as a close residential unit is breaking up as the people are increasingly adopting the more common East African pattern of each family building its own homestead in its own land-holding. These northern Nyakyusa say that they must have their coffee plots next to their homesteads for the sake of continuous supervision, and that this is impossible (which is true enough) where men live close together in compact villages. Again, coffee plots, with their standing, permanent trees, have become a valuable item of inheritance; sons lose no opportunity of taking them irrespective of the locations of their coevals or of the identity of their immediate neighbours. The values of land, cash-crops and material progress are placed much higher than the traditional values of coevality; indeed, such traditional values are largely inconsistent with modern wants and aspirations.

Thus the Nyakyusa age-village has become almost obsolete and it would seem that it must inevitably vanish altogether even in the remaining conservative areas (e.g., in the east). Furthermore, its disappearance is leading to a distinct divergence between the Lake Plains Nyakyusa and those of the Highlands. How far this divergence will become permanent and basically significant cannot be foreseen as yet in this early stage. Clearly the compact village is best fitted to an arable economy of rice cultivation in the Lake Plains, and at least until there is further agricultural change it will persist as a most important social group.

Nevertheless, with its enhanced exclusiveness and relative social isolation and with renewed rivalry with its neighbours, the Lake Plains village is scarcely conducive to the encouragement of agricultural and economic development. Neither is it anything but harmful towards contemporary efforts in the politico-administrative sphere to reduce parochialism and to foster a sense of unity and co-operation beyond the village and the petty traditional chiefdoms. Whilst supervisory control of the land through the headman is in general excellent, reasonable and readily understandable to the people, yet the excess of restrictiveness, the competitive scrambling for vacated holdings and the jealous fears are surely more than merely unfortunate. There needs to be some modification to loosen the over-tight strings of village corporate ownership, to regularise the transfer of vacated holdings and to lessen the fears of village against village. These points are taken up again in Chapter V.

Cattle and Pastoral Requirements

Unfortunately, no great accuracy can be presumed for the Rungwe District cattle censuses, but the available figures are summarised in Table VI.

TABLE VI
NYAKYUSA CATTLE

	1955				1951	
	No. of cattle	*Acres per beast*	*Cattle per person*	*Cattle per family of 5*	*No. of cattle*	*Acres per beast*
Lake Plains	31,418	4.1	0.5	2.5	26,822	5.2
Central Region ..	19,380	7.1	0.4	2	19,160	7.2
N.E. Highlands ..	19,095	7.4	0.4	2	17,165	8.4
N.W. Highlands ..	22,974	8.0	0.4	2	16,855	10.9
Total: Nyakyusa.. ..	92,867	6.4	0.4	2	80,002	7.2

The indicated increase in the numbers of cattle may well be attributable only to improved census enumeration by the Veterinary Department.

Although 6.4 acres per head of cattle for all Nyakyusa country, and even 4.1 acres in the Lake Plains, might seem to be adequate in a country so

[P. 236 A]

WANYAKYUSA AGRICULTURE

By D. H. Thwaites, Agricultural Assistant, Tanganyika Territory

131 The Wanyakyusa occupy the District of Rungwe in the Southern Highlands Province. The district lies between 9° and 9½° S. latitude
133 at the northern tip of Lake Nyasa. The altitude ranges from 1,500 feet to 9,500 feet. The
631 district is divided into twelve chiefdoms. The Administrative Headquarters are at Tukuyu, which was known before the British occupation as Neu Langenberg.

Inhabitants

101 The local people are not indigeneous to this
[173] area. They came, tradition has it, from Mahenge via Ukinga after many tribal fights. They are akin to the Wahenga in Nyasaland bordering on the Tanganyika boundary. It is
191 estimated that only 10 per cent of the Wanya-
161 kyusa speak Kiswahili. According to the 1935 census the total poulation was 153,204. The
162 total number of tax-payers in 1942 was 35,304, or 23.04 per cent of the total population.

181 The people themselves are extremely industrious and intelligent. As there are 90 people to the square mile, living conditions are
105 crowded and emigration is continually taking place. The people are partial to litigation over cattle and women. The number of cases heard annually in the Native Courts is about 6,000. There is no one historical and traditional head of the tribe. The twelve Chiefs are, in reality, hereditary Headmen who have been selected by Government to be Chiefs. They are in effect only *primi inter pares* in native eyes, the outlook of the people being unusually democratic for a native tribe.

105 The people live in houses made of wattle
342 and daub or bamboo frame, with thatched roof, and villages are sited mostly along ridges.
361 Rectangular houses are now built instead of the round huts of former days. They often stand in rows with a main street down the middle with bananas in the background. The more progressive natives build with sun-dried or burnt brick. Stock are stalled in the same house owing to the prevalence of thieving, but sleep in separate rooms.

Climate

132 The rainfall of the district varies in the different areas. In Tukuyu itself the annual average for 25 years (1918-1942) is 100.22 inches. On the Lake shore the average is probably higher, but no continuous statistics are available. The heaviest rainfall months are from December to May, but, in most years,

12: Bisgaard E-5 (1955) 1962 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa
Haya FN8

H 342 As indicated above, the floor is covered with grass. Various domestic utensils may be seen, stuck into thin screens of plant material.

H 342 178 But this old, beautiful type of hut is very much on the decline. It is costly to make and to keep in repair, and the thick straw roof is, admittedly, highly inflammable. A flying trip round Lake Victoria clearly shows how the straw roofs in the banana groves are being replaced by corrugated iron. This change may even have another reason, viz. the fact that fodder for cattle is in short supply and that the grass for roofs is hard to come by. No doubt, it is a question of time when the fine old Haya hut will have disappeared.

N 114 In the Southern Highlands, where I was given the opportunity to stay for three months at various Danish mission stations, I visited the village round the Rungwe mission, the neighbouring villages of Ilolo and Kikota, and some villages near the Rutenganio mission station. I made a trip to Lake Nyasa and another to the Poloto mountains. I must admit to a limited knowledge of drawing technique and of house construction, but I have measured a number of houses and sketched their plan and also the furnishings I found in them. The positioning of the various objects has been established.

N 361 [342 356] The high standard of dwellings of the Banyakyusa is truly to be wondered at. The houses, clustered in villages, often along a winding street, lie intermingled with banana and coffee bushes. The houses are large and their interior is clean. Often two or three houses belong to one family, and, if so, will be grouped round a courtyard.

N 342 [824] Even if you could find houses built from sun-dried bricks and fired tiles, most were from bamboo with a grass roofing.

All houses stand on a clay base which, though not very high, no doubt means some protection against penetration of ground moisture during the heavy rains of April–June.

N [824] Besides bamboo, sometimes the bole of tree fern, *makeke*, is used in outer walls. Such tree fern stems have not the carrying capacity of bamboo, but they are far more resistant to rot. Among the other common features of the existing types of houses, should be mentioned the mud clods, the size of rolls that from the inside are pressed between the vertical bamboo poles; also, the inner wall is roughcast with a mixture of mud and cow manure; the floor is from tamped clay. In some places you find very fine floors in which a pattern has been rolled into the wet clay; to this end a short length of the stem of the banana cluster has been employed, viz. the length between the seats of the male and the female flowers. Also employed are another plant stem, or an empty corn cob.

N [237] [531]

N 354 595 In all houses where women live, there are one or more hearths. The presence of two hearths in one house usually means that the husband has two wives, each wife having her own hearth, either in the common house or in a house of her own.

N 342 The houses always have a kind of ceiling made from bamboo sticks and carried

12: Bisgaard E-5 (1955) 1962 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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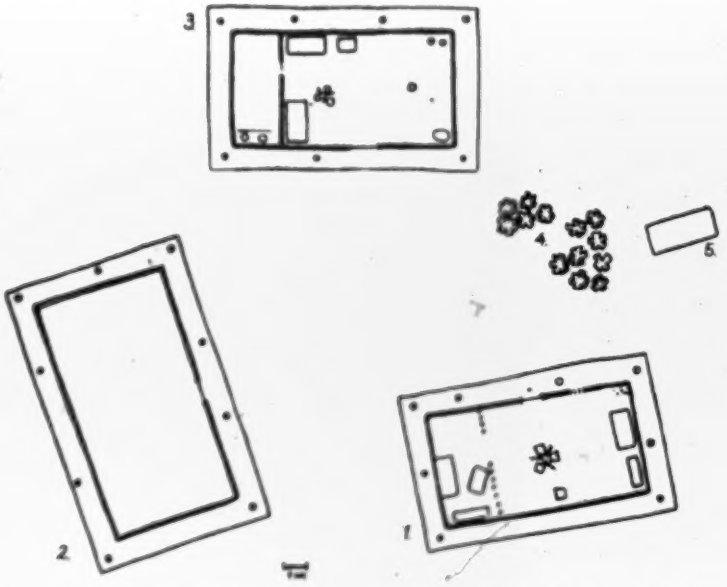

Three houses belonging to one family, situated round a common courtyard; the doors open on to the yard. The village street is along the back of the house at top. 1, Iselina's house; 2, Baba's house; 3, Idina's house; 4, banana plants; 5, hen-coop.

houses existed which were 60 metres in length. It had the same width as Malia's house, approximately 3 metres. The roof was supported by posts along the sides and at the gables.

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531]

Two women lived in this house, both married to the same man. Consequently, there were two hearths, the stones of which were cylindrical-conical, broadening slightly at the top. All were decorated. Each woman had her part of the house, both with an outer door, and further there was a door, slightly narrower, between the two parts, and a fourth door to a store-room. No less than twelve posts supported the roof, all reaching to the ridge. The two parts were a bit unequal in size; nearly half of each had the well-known loft for firewood, etc. One part contained beds for the woman and her husband (one bed had 100 straw mats). The children had two beds. The husband had still another house, a short distance away at the foot of a hill, they said. I did not see it. The other woman's room held her bed and a cot.

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The hearths of both rooms were placed in the centres, between two upright posts. Utensils and furnishings did not differ much from the usual: hen's nests,

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12: Bisgaard E-5 (1955) 1962 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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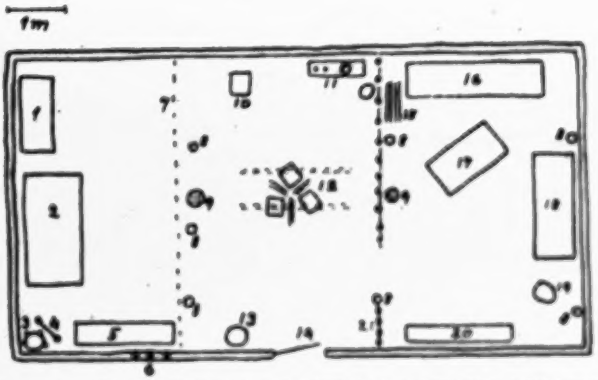

Ilelina's house. 1, cupboard with shelves; 2, children's bed; 3, hen's nest; 4, ladder; 5, roost; 6, barred window; 7, from dotted line towards the right is the bamboo ceiling; 8, from here issue 5 horizontal bamboo sticks on which the bamboo ceiling is supported; 9, Posts supporting roof; 10, chair; 11, low shelf with two bamboo jars and a water jar; 12, hearth with three hearthstones and sticks under ceiling for carrying the fine basket, and corn-cobs hung up to dry, etc.; 13, beer jar; 14, door; 15, mats behind the low partition; 16, shelf for domestic utensils; 17, child's bed; 18, Ilelina's bed; 19, baskets; 20, domestic utensils; 21, low partition between rooms.

found. In the front part of the Kikoła house, serving as an entrance room, were four posts called *ikingi*, to which two cows were tied at night.

This part, which we may call the cowhouse, also housed hen's nests, the roost, [231] and the mortar to be used for maize, etc.

The hearth, consisting of one square and two round hearthstones, was placed [354] in the centre of the living-room part. Here were also water jars and the woman's bed. This means that even if this type of house had a roof of a different shape and was always provided with a verandah with posts supporting its roof, the [542] interior was really designed on the same lines as the short *ikibaga*, but it was meant to house only one woman, or one man, as we shall see below.

We may imagine that one of the reasons why the type of roof was changed, 342 was the weakness of the pointed roof of the *ikibaga*. It could often be seen to have 178 a tendency to fall in, and had to be supported by a post. Even in Fülleborn's illustrations, e.g. plate 64 *c*, a kind of reinforcement can be seen at the edge of the roof. No doubt the roof of the *ihema* does not suffer to the same extent from this flaw.

New houses were being built to this design, and I suppose that a little more 342 than half the number of the houses were of the *ikibaga* type, and a little than half the *ihema*.

In the village of Ilolo, I surveyed three houses belonging to one family, a [361]

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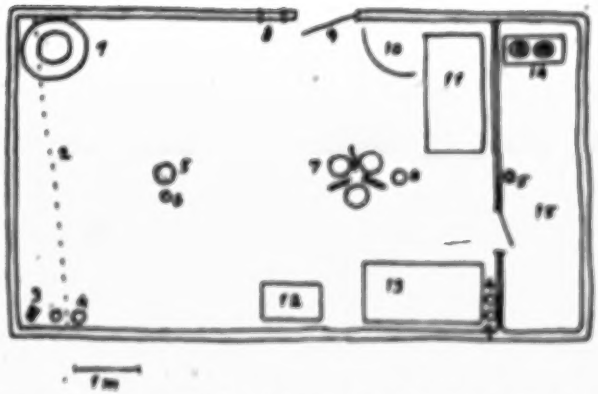

Idina's house. 1, basket; 2, clothes-line; 3, broom; 4, jars, in the back room on low shelf; 5, posts supporting roof; 6, small diagonal bamboo poles, supports for the ceiling; 7, hearth with three round hearthstones; 8, shuttered opening through which the bed may be reached; 9, door; 10, cassava for food; 11, spare bed; 12, table; 13, Idina's bed; 14, shelf for jars; 15, store-room behind mud wall with door.

● [361] man and his two wives. The houses were grouped round a common courtyard, the doors giving upon this space and not on the nearby village thoroughfare.

The three houses bore the names of Iselina's house, Idina's house, and Baba's house. The elder wife, Iselina, had several minor children, who slept either near
352 her own bed or in the living area. She owned furnishings as modern as a chair
177 and a cupboard with shelves, besides the usual objects in these houses, baskets, bamboo mugs, hen's nest and roost, ladder and water jars. She also had an earthen-
[415 ware beer jar which, one day when I called on her, was standing on the fire,
273] nearly making the froth boil over. She was preparing beer for her husband's friends, who had just dropped in.

352 The new wife, Idina, had a store-room in her house, and there was also a
[353 large heap of cassava, meant for food. As often seen in these houses, she had also
262] a guest bed. She had a number of jars and baskets, but no hen's nest. Straight across the room she had suspended a line on which she put her clothes. Such an
[296] arrangement was often used, especially by the bachelors; they had a line for their shirts. Clothes-hangers were not in use. You just threw your clothes across the line. A wardrobe was never seen.

342 The interior of Baba's house presented a peculiar picture. It was divided into
352 three rooms, a living-area in the middle; at one side the bed-room, at the other a store-room. The bed-room had only one bed and a wooden chest. There was no hearth in the living-room—for the husband had his meals prepared by one of his wives. But there was a true accumulation of tables, chairs, suitcases, and a